

country on

THE BALLOT IN ENGLAND

"Let the Progressionists come over to us; let them adopt the Federal Republic as their form of government, and we will jointly establish it, and make Espartaco president; and with him they shall govern by means of liberty and for her interests. If they have governed already; they have more experience than we have; well, we will raise them to power and support them by the strength of the Republican masses. What will all the reactionists combined be able to object against such a union? I ask you,

umination? Had ^{any} other remedy for in-
suggested for securing ^{any} method ever been
We had Judges sitting ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{room of} election?
carrying on investigations ^{at} ^{the} ^{present} ^{time}
and fruitless character, and ^{the} ^{most} ^{tedious}
the pains and penalties which ^{are} ^{read} ^{of}
ostensibly to put down bribery, it ^{is} ^{acted}
him that all this waste of time and money
Judges engaging in duties somewhat
near their dignity, might be obvi-
by the adoption of the ballot. N

(From the Spectator.)

SEVENTEEN years of sovereignty, and the

Emperor still protesting his right to be! The Speech with which Napoleon opened his Legislative Chambers on the 18th instant has been sharply criticised from many sides, for though the Emperor is no longer arbiter of Europe, he is still the most obvious Sovereign of the world. The Liberals see in the determined reassertion that the Emperor has made of his position, a death-blow to their lingering hopes that the Emperor may one day crown the edifice; the politicians find in the "firm hope" that peace may be maintained, an absence of security that it will be; the speculators hear in the proud exposition of the strength of France, her "perfected" armament, her filled magazines, her well-trained reserves, a murmur as of legions; the Mobile, her reconstructed fleet, a murmur as of legions; the democrats, and all these classes of critics may be in the right. But to us, we confess, the marked feature of the Emperor's speech is the sense it manifests of an abiding, incurable unrest. Throughout he is holding an argument with France, answering an opposition which, scarcely visible to the rest of mankind, is to him, with its strange intensions as to French feeling—
"I say no longer for every man lived in his own mind was essentially untrue, whose the Emperor—never even obacure
"I am," he begins by saying, "the responsible chief of a free State," not, observe, a despot or a constitutional ruler, but the one "responsible," and therefore rightly potent authority among a people whose freedom is established by the fact that they elected himself Frenchmen are to judge the Emperor, not as they would a King, but as they might a hereditary President, as their own ruler, the election of whom is clothed with its right of sovereignty over itself. So judging, they cannot say—this seems to us the thought in the Emperor's mind—that he claims too lofty a power, or arrogates to himself too exclusive an initiative. The point for them is not his power, but the use he makes of it. "By their fruits," says Napoleon, quoting the Gospel, and startling the reader with a sudden perception of the grim inconsistency by which the fruits shall judge them," and he enumerates the fruits. France has regained her military position in spite of shadow, a truth which, if not true to the world, is true to Frenchmen. Two Parliaments elected by universal suffrage have so supported the Emperor that he has never wished to shorten the limit of their legal duration,—a truth also, and one which decides not one dispute, but many. If Parliamentary sanction can ever

burg, "one can do anything with bayonets except sit on them;" but for France the motto should be somewhat changed. There the fine-

tempered steel yields only to an acid. Only Napoleon can know accurately if this process has begun, if any part of his authority, any morsel of concrete beneath his throne is beginning to crumble—if, as his personal sceptre is becoming all—, for example, he finds certain men dissatisfied, or certain influences irresistible, or certain over-zealous forces beyond control of the reins. The world says so, but the world has not succeeded in reading Napoleon very well, and his mind may still be, as it once was, very like water, which vacillates for ever, but is incomprehensible by anything known to man. Our impression is that he sees some such signs, wrestles with himself to France to disprove them, will finally, in some supreme effort to be rid of them, shake the world. What direction that effort would take remains a secret probably even to himself. Were he what he was at fifty, it would, we confidently believe, be Socialist. No effort, say many French observers, would dialogue the man who abolished the mortgages on French peasant properties, a proposal which has three times emerged under one form or another into harsh light. Were he less bitterly assailed, were he more accessible, and feuds less savage, it would be the grant of universal suffrage, of an American Constitution, with a free Legislature and a free Press, but an irremovable President. Napoleon could interpret the wishes of a Legislature as readily as those of France, and he is no Andrew Johnson, to defy instead of leading representatives. Being as he is, his probable course is a great foreign enterprise, which shall once more let France feel that she is still first—as she estimates primacy among the nations of the world. It is to this resolve that all symptoms tend, but this resolve is not taken yet; the Emperor still "hopes," "firmly hopes," honestly hopes, that he can wait his time while he fights for him, it may never be unavoidable. But does Time ever fight for a living man, an existing being, a working organism? That is the question Napoleon III., like Philip II.—so like him, the temerary of the Cossack family, the leader of the death and the truth is in Louis Blanc's wisest apophthegm, "Edifices have duration, it is only ruins which have eternity."

"Mr. Timothy," said a learned lady, who had been suffering off her wit at the expense of a dangle, "you are reminding me of a barometer that is filled with nothing but air, and is therefore useless." And adding, "I am reminded by your adage, 'in thanking you for the compliment that I remind you that you occupy my upper story'!"

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